HIS MAIESTIES ANSVVER To the XIX PROPOSITIONS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

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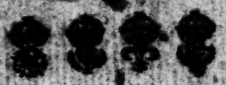

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His Majesties Answer

To the nineteen PROPOSITIONS *of both Houses of Parliament.*

BEfore We shall give you Our Answer to your Petition and Propositions, We shall tell you, that We are now clearly satisfied, why the Method, which We traced out to you by Our Message of the 20th of January, and have since so often pressed upon you, as the proper way to compose the distractions of this Kingdom, and render it truly happy, hath been hitherto declined, and is at length thought fit to be looked upon; We now see plainly (and desire that you, and all other Our good Subjects should doe so too) that the Cabalists of this businesse have with great Prudence reserved themselves, untill due preparations should be made for their Designe.

If they had unseasonably vented such Propositions, as the Wisdom and Modestie of your Predecessours never thought fit to offer to any of our Progenitours,

nitours, nor We in honour or regard to Our Regall authority (which God hath entruſted Us with for the good of Our People) could receive without juſt indignation (and ſuch many of your preſent Propoſitions are) their hopes would ſoon have been blaſted, and thoſe Perſons, to whom Offices, Honours, Power and Commands were deſigned, by ſuch ill timing of their buſineſſe, would have failed of their expectation, not without a Brand upon the attempt. Therefore, before any of this nature ſhould appear, they have (certainly with great wiſdom in the Conduct of it) thought fit to remove a troubleſome Rub in their way, *The Law*; To this end, (that they might undermine the very foundations of it) a new Power hath been aſſumed to interpret and declare Laws without Us by extemporary Votes, without any Caſe judicially before either Houſe, (which is in effect the ſame thing as to make Laws without Us) Orders and Ordinances made onely by both Houſes (tending to a pure arbitrary power) were preſſed upon the people as Laws, and their obedience required to them.

Their next ſtep was, To erect an upſtart Authoritie without Us, (in whom, and onely in whom the Laws of this Realm have placed that Power) To command the *Militia* (very conſiderable to this their

Deſigne

Deſigne;) In further order to it they have wreſted from Us Our Magazin and town of *Hull*, and beſtridde Sir *John Hotham* in his bold faced Treaſon; They have prepared and directed to the people unpreſidented Invectives againſt Our Government, thereby (as much as lay in their power) to weaken Our juſt Authority and due eſteem among them; They have as injuriouſly as preſumptuouſly (though We conceive by this time Impudence it ſelf is aſhamed of it) attempted to caſt upon Us aſperſions of an unheard of nature, as if We had *favoured a Rebellion in Our own Bowels*; They have likewiſe broached new Doctrine, *That We are obliged to paſſe all Laws that ſhall be offered to Us by both Houſes* (howſoever Our own judgement and Conſcience ſhall be unſatisfied with them) a point of Policie, as proper for their preſent buſineſſe, as deſtructive to all Our Rights of Parliament; And ſo with ſtrange ſhameleſneſſe will forget a Clauſe in a Law ſtill in force, made in the ſecond yeer of King *H.*5. wherein both Houſes of Parliament do acknowledge, *That it is of the Kings Regality to grant or deny ſuch of their Petitions as pleaſeth Himſelf*; They have interpreted Our neceſſary Guard, legally aſſembled for the Defence of Us and Our Childrens Perſons againſt a Traitour in open Rebellion againſt Us, to be *with intent to levy*

War againſt Our Parliament, (the thought whereof Our very ſoul abhorreth) thereby to render Us odious to Our People.

They have ſo awed Our good Subjects with purſivants, long chargeable Attendance, Heavie Cenſures and illegall Impriſonments, that few of them durſt offer to preſent their tenderneſſe of Our Sufferings, their own juſt Grievances, and their ſenſe of thoſe violations of the Law, (the Birthright of every Subject of this Kingdom) though in an humble Petition directed to both Houſes; and if any did, it was ſtifled in the Birth, called *Sedition*, and burnt by the common Hangman.

They have reſtrained the Attendance of Our ordinary and neceſſary Houſhold-ſervants, and ſeized upon thoſe ſmall ſums of Money which Our Credit had provided to buy Us Bread, With Injunctions That none ſhall be ſuffered to be conveyed or returned to Us to *York*, or any of Our Peers or Servants with Us, ſo that (in effect) they have blocked Us up in that County.

They have filled the eares of the People with the noiſe of Feares and Iealouſies, (though taken up upon truſt) tales of Skippers, Salt-Fleets, and ſuch like, by which Alarms they might prepare them to receive ſuch impreſsions, as might beſt advance this

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Deſigne when it ſhould be ripe. And now it ſeemes they think we are ſufficiently prepared for theſe bitter Pills, We are in a handſome Poſture to receive theſe *humble Deſires*, (which probably are intended to make way for a Superfetation of a (yet) higher nature, (if we had not made this diſcovery to you) for they do not tell Us this is all. In them We muſt obſerve that theſe Contrivers (the better to advance their true ends) diſguiſed as much as they could their intents with a mixture of ſome things really to be approved by every honeſt man, Others, ſpecious and popular; And ſome Which are already granted by Us; All which are cunningly twiſted and mixed with thoſe other things of their main Deſigne of Ambition and private intereſt; in hope, that at the firſt view, every eye may not ſo cleerly diſcerne them in their proper colours.

We would not be underſtood, That We intend to fix this Deſigne upon both, or either Houſe of Parliament; We utterly profeſſe againſt it, being moſt confident of the Loyalty, good affections and integrity of the intentions of that great Body, and knowing well that very many of both Houſes were abſent, and many diſſented from all thoſe particulars We complain of: But We do beleeve, and accordingly profeſſe to all the world, that the Malignity of this

Deſigne

Deſigne (as dangerous to the Lawes of this Kingdom, the Peace of the ſame, and the Liberties of all Our good Subjects, as to Our Selfe, and Our juſt Prerogative) hath proceeded from the ſubtill Informations, miſchievous Practices, and evill Counſels of ambitious turbulent Spirits, diſ-affected to Gods true Religion, and the Unity of the Profeſſors thereof, Our Honour and Safety, and the publike Peace and proſperity of Our people, not without a ſtrong influence upon the very Actions of both Houſes. But how faulty ſoever others are, We ſhall (with Gods aſſiſtance) endeavour to diſcharge Our duty with uprightneſſe of heart; And therefore ſince theſe Propoſitions come to Us in the name of both Houſes of Parliament, We ſhall take a more particular notice of every of them.

If the 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 9. 10. 15. 16. 19. Demands had been writ and printed in a tongue unknown to Us and Our people, it might have been poſsible We and they might have charitably beleeved the Propoſitions to be ſuch as might have been in Order to the ends pretended in the Petition (to wit) *the eſtabliſhing of Our Honour and Safety, the welfare and Security of Our Subjects and Dominions, and the removing thoſe Jealouſies and Differences which are ſaid to have unhappily fallen betwixt Us and Our people, and procu-*

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ring both Us and them a conſtant courſe of Honour, Peace and happineſſe. But being read and underſtood by all, We cannot but aſſure Our Self that this Profeſsion, joyned to theſe Propoſitions, will rather appear a Mockery and a Scorne; The Demands being ſuch, as We were unworthy of the truſt repoſed in Us by the Law, and of Our Deſcent from ſo many great & famous Anceſtours, if We could be brought to abandon that power which onely can inable Us to performe what We are ſworne to, in protecting Our People and the Lawes, and ſo aſſume others into it, as to deveſt Our Self of it; Although not onely Our preſent Condition (which it can hardly be) were more neceſſitous then it is, and We were both vanquiſht, and a Priſoner, and in a worſe condition then ever the moſt unfortunate of Our Predeceſſors have been reduced to, by the moſt criminall of their Subjects; And though the Bait laid to draw Us to it, and to keep Our Subjects from indignation at the mention of it, the promiſes *of a plentifull and unparaleld Revenue*, were reduced from generals (which ſignifie nothing) to cleer and certain particulars, ſince ſuch a Bargain would have but too great a reſemblance of that of *Eſaus*, if We ſhould part with ſuch Flowers of Our Crowne, as are worth all the reſt of the Garland, and have been tranſmitted to Us

from ſo many Anceſtours, and haue been found ſo uſefull and neceſſary for the welfare and Security of Our Subjects, for any preſent neceſsity, or for any low and ſordid Conſiderations of Wealth and gain. And therefore all men knowing that thoſe Accommodations are moſt eaſily made, and moſt exactly obſerved, that are grounded upon reaſonable and equall Conditions, We have great Cauſe to beleeve, that the Contrivers of theſe had no intention of ſetling any firm Accommodation but to increaſe thoſe Jealouſies, and widen that diviſion, which (not by Our fault) is now unhappily fallen betweene Us and both Houſes.

It is asked, *That all the Lords and others of Our privy Councell, and ſuch* (We know now what you mean by *ſuch*, but We have cauſe to think you mean *all*) *great Officers and Miniſters of State, either at home or beyond the Seas*, (For care is taken to leave out no Perſon or place, that Our diſhonour may be ſure not to be bounded within this Kingdom, though no ſubtile Inſinuations at ſuch a diſtance can probably be beleeved to have been the cauſe of Our Diſtractions and dangers) *ſhould be put from Our Privy Councell, and from thoſe Offices and imployments, unleſſe they be approved by both Houſes of Parliament*, how faithfull ſoever We have found them to Us and the publike,

like, and how far ſoever they have been from offending againſt any Law, the onely rule they had or any others ought to have to walk by. We therefore to this part of this demand return you this Anſwer, That we are willing to grant that they ſhall take a larger Oath then you your ſelves deſire in your 11th Demand, for maintaining not of any part but of the whole Law; And We have and do aſſure you, That We will be carefull to make election of ſuch perſons in thoſe places of truſt, as ſhall have given good teſtimonies of their abilities and integrities, & againſt whom there can be no juſt cauſe of exception, whereon reaſonably to ground a diffidence; That if We have or ſhall be miſtaken in Our election, We have and do aſſure you, that there is no man ſo near to Us in place or affection, whom We will not leave to the luſtice of the Law, if you ſhall bring a particular charge and ſufficient proofs againſt him; And that We have given you (the beſt pledge of the effects of ſuch a promiſe on our part, and the beſt ſecurity for the performance of their duty on theirs) *a Triennial Parliament*, the apprehenſion of whoſe Iuſtice will in all probability make them wary how they provoke it, and Us wary how We chuſe ſuch, as by the diſcovery of their faults may in any degree ſeem to diſcredit Our election. But that without a-

ny ſhadow of a fault objected, only perhaps becauſe they follow their conſcience, and preſerve the eſtabliſhed Laws, and agree not in ſuch Votes, or aſſent not to ſuch Bils, as ſome perſons, who have now too great an Influence even upon both Houſes, judge or ſeem to judge to be for the publike good, and as are ageeable to that new *Utopia* of Religion and Government into which they endeavour to to transform this Kingdom; (for We remember what names, and for what Reaſons you left out in the Bill offered Us concerning the *Militia*, which you had your ſelves recommended in the Ordinance) We will never conſent to the diſplacing of any, whom for their former merits from, and affection to Us and the publike, We have intruſted, ſince we conceive, That to do ſo, would take away both from the affection of Our ſervants the care of Our ſervice, and the Honour of Our Iuſtice. And We the more wonder, That it ſhould be askt by you of Us, ſince it appears by the 12th Demand, That your ſelves count it reaſonable, after the preſent turn is ſerved, *that the Judges and Officers who are then placed may hold their places quàm diu ſe bene geſſerint.* And We are reſolved to be as carefull of thoſe We have choſen, as you are of thoſe you would chuſe, and to remove none, till they appear to Us to have otherwiſe be-

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behaved themſelves, or ſhall be evicted by legall proceedings to have done ſo.

But this Demand (as unreaſonable at it is) is but one link of a great Chaine, and but the firſt round of that Ladder, by which Our Juſt, Ancient, Regall Power is endeavoured to be fetched down to the ground. For it appears plainly, that it is not with the perſons now choſen, but with Our chooſing that you are diſpleaſed; For you demand, *That the perſons put into the places & imployments of thoſe who ſhalbe removed, may be approved by both Houſes*; which is ſo far (as to ſome it may at firſt ſight appear) from being leſſe then the power of nomination, that of two things (of which We will never grant either) We would ſooner be content that you ſhould nominate and We approve, then you approve and We nominate; The meer nomination being ſo far from being any thing, that if We could do no more, We would never take the paines to do that, when We ſhould onely hazard thoſe, whom We eſteemed, to the ſcorn of a refuſall, if they hapned not to be agreeable not onely to the Iudgement, but to the paſſion, intereſt or humor of the preſent major part of either Houſe. Not to ſpeak now of the great factions, animoſities and diuiſions which this power would introduce in both Houſes, between both Houſes, and in the ſe-

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ſeverall Countries, for the choyce of perſons to be ſent to that place where that power was, and between the perſons that were ſo choſen. Neither is this ſtrange Potion preſcribed to Us onely for once, for the cure of a preſent, preſſing, deſperate diſeaſe, but for a dyet to Us and Our Poſterity; It is demanded, *That Our Counſellors, all Chief Officers both of Law and State, Commanders of Forts and Caſtles, and all Peeres hereafter made* (as to voting without which how little is the reſt?) *be approved of* (that is choſē) *by them from time to time*; & rather then it ſhould ever be left to the Crown (to whom it onely doth and ſhall belong) *if any place fall voyd in the intermiſſion of Parliament, the major part of the approved Councell is to approve them.* Neither is it onely demanded, that We ſhould quit the Power and Right Our Predeceſſors have had of appointing Perſons in theſe places, but for Counſellors We are to be reſtrained, as well in the number, as in the perſons, and a power muſt be annext to theſe places, which their Predeceſſors had not; And indeed if this power were paſt to them, it were not fit We ſhould be truſted to chooſe thoſe, who were to be truſted as much as we.

It is demanded, *That ſuch matters as concern the publique, and are proper for the high Court of Parliament*, (which is Our Great and Supreme Councell) *may be debated*

debated, resolved and transacted onely in Parli-
and not elsewhere, and such as presume to do any thing to the contrary shall be reserved to the Censure and Iudgement of the Parliament; and such other matters of State, as are proper for Our Privy Councell, shall be debated and concluded by such of Our Nobility (though indeed, if being made by Us they may not vote without the Consent of both Houses, We are rather to call them your Nobility) *and others as shall be from time to time chosen for that place, by approbation of both Houses of Parliament; and that no publike Act concerning the affaires of the Kingdom, which are proper for Our Privy Councell, may be esteemed of any validity, as proceeding from the Royall Authority, unlesse it be done by the advice and Consent of the major part of Our Councell, attested under their hands:* Which Demands are of that Nature, that to grant them were in effect at once to depose both Our Self and Our Posteritie.

These being past, We may be waited on bare-headed; We may have Our hand kist; The Style of Majestie continued to Us; And the Kings Authority, declared by both Houses of Parliament, may be still the Style of your Commands; We may have Swords and Maces carried before Us, and please Our Self with the sight of a Crown and Scepter (and yet even these Twigs would not long flourish, when the Stock

upon which they grew were dead) but as to true and reall Power We ſhould remain but the outſide, but the Picture, but the ſigne of a King. We were ever willing that Our Parliament ſhould debate, reſolve, and tranſact ſuch matters as are proper for them, as far as they are proper for them: And We heartily wiſh, that they would be as carefull not to extend their Debates and Reſolutions beyond what is proper to them, that multitudes of things puniſhable, and cauſes determinable by the Ordinary Judicatures, may not be entertained in Parliament, & ſo cauſe a long, chargeable, fruitleſſe attendance of Our People, and (by Degrees) draw to you as well all the cauſes, as all the faults of *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and divert your proper buſineſſe. That the courſe of Law be no wayes diverted, much leſſe diſturbed, as was actually done by the ſtop of the proceedings againſt a Riot in *Southwarke*, by Order of the Houſe of Commons, in a time ſo riotous and tumultuous, as much increaſed the danger of Popular inſolencies, by ſuch a countenance to Riots, & diſcountenance of Law; That you deſcend not to the leaſure of recommending Lecturers to Churches, nor aſcend to the Legiſlative power, by commanding (the Law not having yet commanded it) that they whom you recómend be received, although neither the Parſon nor Biſhop

Biſhop doe approve of them; And that the Refuſers (according to the courſe ſo much formerly complained of to have been uſed at the Councell Table) be not ſent for to attend, to ſhew cauſe; At leaſt, that you would conſider conveniency, if not Law, and recommend none, but who are well known to you to be Orthodox, Learned, & Moderate, or at leaſt ſuch as have taken Orders, and are not notorious depravers of the Book of Common Prayer; A care which appeareth by the Diſcourſes, Sermons and perſons of ſome recommended by you, not to have been hitherto taken, and it highly concerns both you in dutie, and the Common-wealth in the conſequences, that it ſhould have been taken; That neither one eſtate tranſact what is proper for two, nor two what is proper for three, and conſequently, that (contrary to Our declared will) Our Forts may not be ſeized; Our Arms may not be removed; Our Moneys may not be ſtopt; Our legall Directions may not be countermanded by you, nor We deſired to countermand them Our Self, nor ſuch entrances made upon a Reall War againſt Us, upon pretence of an imaginarie War againſt you, and a *Chimæra* of neceſſity. So far do you paſſe beyond your limits, whileſt you ſeem by your Demand to be ſtrangely ſtraitned within them. At leaſt We could have wiſht you would have

expreſſed, what matters you meant as *fit to be tranſacted onely in Parliament*, and what you meant by *onely in Parliament*. You have (of late) been perſwaded by the new doctrines of ſome few, to think that proper for your debates, which hath not uſed to be at all debated within thoſe wals, but been truſted wholly with Our Predeceſſors and Us, and to tranſact thoſe things which, without the Regall Authoritie, ſince there were Kings of this Kingdom, were never tranſacted: It therefore concerns Us the more that you ſpeak out, and that both We and Our People may either know the bottom of your Demands, or know them to be bottomleſſe. What concerns more the Publike, and is more (indeed) proper for the high Court of Parliament, then the making of Laws? which not onely ought there to be tranſacted, but can be tranſacted no where elſe; but then you muſt admit Us to be a part of the Parliament, you muſt not (as the ſenſe is of this part of this Demand, if it have any) deny the freedom of Our Anſwer, when We have as much right to reject what We think unreaſonable, as you have to propoſe what you think convenient or neceſſary; nor is it poſſible Our Anſwers either to Bills, or any other Propoſitions ſhould be wholly free, if We may not uſe the Libertie of every one of you, and of every Subject, and

receive

receive advice (without their danger who ſhall give it) from any perſon known or unknown, ſworn or unſworn, in theſe matters in which the Manage of Our Vote is truſted by the Law, to Our own Judgement and Conſcience, which how beſt to inform, is (and ever ſhall be) left likewiſe to Us; and moſt unreaſonable it were that two Eſtates, propoſing ſomething to the Third, that Third ſhould be bound to take no advice, whether it were fit to paſſe, but from thoſe two that did propoſe it. We ſhall ever in theſe things which are truſted wholly to Us by the Law, not decline to hearken to the Advice of Our great Councell, and ſhall uſe to hear willingly the free debates of Our Privy Councell (whenſoever We may be ſuffered to have them for ſending for, and they ſhall not be terrified from that freedom by Votes and Brands of Malignants and Enemies to the State, for adviſing what no Law forbids to adviſe) but We will retain Our Power of admitting no more to any Councell then the Nature of the buſineſſe requires, and of diſcourſing with whom We pleaſe, of what We pleaſe, and informing Our Underſtanding by debate with any Perſons, who may be well able to Inform and Adviſe Us in ſome particular, though their Qualities, Education or other Abilities may not make them ſo fit to be of Our

ſworn Councell, and not tye Our Self up not to hear any more then twenty five (and thoſe not choſen abſolutely by Us) out of a Kingdom ſo repleniſhed with Judicious and Experienced Perſons in ſeverall kindes. And though We ſhall (with the proportionable Conſideration due to them) alwayes weigh the Advices both of Our Great and Privie Councell, yet We ſhall alſo look upon their Advices, as Advices, not as Commands, or Impoſitions; upon them as Our Counſellours, not as Our Tutors and Guardians, and upon Our Self as their King, not as their Pupill, or Ward; for whatſoever of Regality were by the Modeſty of Interpretation left in Us in the firſt part of the ſecond Demand, as to the Parliament, is taken from Us in the ſecond part of the ſame, and placed in this new fangled kinde of Counſellours, whoſe power is ſuch & ſo expreſſed by it, that in all publike Acts concerning the Affaires of this Kingdom, which are proper for Our Privie Councell (for whoſe Advice all publike Acts are ſometimes proper, though never neceſſary) they are deſired to be admitted joynt Patentees with Us in the Regality, and it is not plainly expreſſed whether they mean Us ſo much as a ſingle Vote in theſe Affaires: But it is plain they mean Us no more at moſt then a ſingle Vote in them, & no more power then

then every one of the reſt of Our Fellow-Counſellours; onely leave to Us, out of their reſpect and dutie, (and that onely is left of all Our ancient power) a Choice, whether theſe that are thus to be joyned with (or rather ſet over) Us, ſhall be fifteen, or twenty five, and great care is taken that the Oath which theſe Men ſhall take, ſhall be ſuch, in the framing the forme of which (though ſure We are not wholly unconcerned in it) We may be wholly excluded, and that wholly reſerved to be agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament.

And to ſhew that no more Care is taken of Our ſafety, then of Our Power, after ſo great indignities offered to Us, & countenanced by thoſe who were moſt obliged to reſent them: After Our Town and Fort kept from Us (from which, if it were no otherwiſe Ours then the whole Kingdom is, We can no more legally be kept out, then out of Our whole Kingdom, which ſure your ſelves will not deny to be Treaſon) Our Arms, Our Goods ſent away, and Our Money ſtopt from Us, Our Guards (in which We have no other Intention then to hinder the end of theſe things from being proportionable to their beginnings) are not onely deſired to be diſmiſſed before ſatisfaction for the injurie, puniſhments of the injurers, and care taken for Our future Security

from the like: But it is likewiſe deſired, (and for this Law is pretended, and might as well have been for the reſt, which yet with ſome ingenuity are it ſeems acknowledged to be but Deſires of Grace) that We ſhall not for the future raiſe any Guards or extraordinary Forces, but in caſe of actuall Rebellion or Invaſion, which if it had been Law, and ſo obſerved in the time of Our Famous Predeceſſours, few of thoſe Victories which have made this Nation famous in other parts, could have been legally atchieved, nor could Our bleſſed Predeceſſour Queen ELIZABETH have ſo defended Her ſelf in 88. And if no Forces muſt be leavied till Rebellions and Invaſions (which will not ſtay for the calling of Parliaments, and their conſent for raiſing Forces) be actuall, they muſt undoubtedly (at leaſt moſt probably) be effectuall and prevalent.

And as neither care is taken for Our Rights, Honour, nor Safety as a Prince, ſo Our Rights as a private Perſon are endeavoured to be had from Us, it being asked, that it may be unlawfull and puniſhable, not onely to *conclude*, but even to *treat of any Marriage with any Perſon for Our own Children, or to place Governours about them, without conſent of Parliament, and in the intermiſſion of thoſe without the conſent of Our good Lords of the Councell*, that We may not onely

onely be in a more deſpicable ſtate then any of Our Predeceſſours, but in a meaner and viler condition then the loweſt of Our Subjects, who value no liberty they have more, then that of the free Education and Marriage of their Children, from which We are asked to debar Our Self, and have the more reaſon to take it ill, that We are ſo, becauſe for Our choice of a Governour for Our Son, and of a Huſband for Our Daughter, (in which the Proteſtant Religion was Our principall Conſideration,) We conceived We had reaſon to expect your preſent thanks, and the increaſe of your future truſts.

We ſuppoſe theſe Demands by this time to appear ſuch, as the Demanders can not be ſuppoſed to have any ſuch reall fear of Us as hath been long pretended, they are too much in the ſtyle, not only of equals, but of Conquerours, and as little to be intended for removing of Iealouſies (for which end they are ſaid to be asked, and that is not as Merchants ask at firſt much more then they will take, but as moſt neceſſary to effect it which (if they be) God help this poor Kingdom, and thoſe who are in the hands of ſuch Perſons, whoſe Jealouſies nothing elſe will remove) which indeed is ſuch a way, as if there being differences and ſuits between two perſons, whereof one would have from the other ſeverall parcells

of

of his ancient Land, he ſhould propoſe to him by way of Accommodation, that he would quit to him all thoſe in queſtion, with the reſt of his Eſtate, as the moſt neceſſary and effectuall means to remove all thoſe ſuits and differences. But we call God to witneſſe, that as for Our Subjects ſake theſe Rights are veſted in Us, ſo for their ſakes, as well as for Our own, We are reſolved not to quit them, nor to ſubvert, (though in a Parliamentary way) the ancient, equall, happy, well-poiſed and never-enough commended Conſtitution of the Government of this Kingdom, nor to make Our Self of a King of *England* a Duke of *Venice*, and this of a Kingdom a Republique.

There being three kinds of Government amongſt men, Abſolute Monarchy, Ariſtocracy, and Democracy, and all theſe having their particular conveniences and inconveniences. The experience and wiſdome of your Anceſtors hath ſo moulded this out of a mixture of theſe, as to give to this Kingdom (as far as humane Prudence can provide) the conveniences of all three, without the Inconveniences of any one, as long as the Ballance hangs even between the three Eſtates, and they run joyntly on in their proper Chanell (begetting Uerdure and Fertility in the Meadows on both ſides) and the overflowing of either

ther on either side raise no deluge or Inundation. The ill of absolute Monarchy is Tyranny, the ill of Aristocracy is Faction and Division, the ills of Democracy are Tumults, Violence and Licentiousnesse. The good of Monarchy is the uniting a Nation under one Head to resist Invasion from abroad, and Insurrection at home: The good of Aristocracy is the Conjunction of Counsell in the ablest Persons of a State for the publike benefit: The good of Democracy is Liberty, and the Courage and Industry which Liberty begets.

In this Kingdom the Laws are joyntly made by a King, by a House of Peers, and by a House of Commons chosen by the People, all having free Votes and particular Priviledges: The Government according to these Laws is trusted to the King, Power of Treaties of War and Peace, of making Peers, of chusing Officers and Counsellours for State, Judges for Law, Commanders for Forts and Castles, giving Commissions for raising men to make War abroad, or to prevent or provide against Invasions, or Insurrections at home, benefit of Confiscations, power of Pardoning, & some more of the like kind are placed in the King. And this kind of regulated Monarchy having this power to preserve that Authority, without which it would be disabled to preserve the

Laws in their Force, and the Subjects in their liberties and proprieties, is intended to draw to him such a Respect and Relation from the great Ones, as may hinder the ills of Division and Faction, and such a Fear and Reverence from the people, as may hinder Tumults, Violence and Licentiousnesse. Again, that the Prince may not make use of this high and perpetuall power to the hurt of those for whose good he hath it, and make use of the name of Publike Necessity for the gain of his private Favourites and Followers, to the detriment of his People, the House of Commons (an excellent Conserver of Liberty, but never intended for any share in Government, or the chusing of them that should govern) is solely intrusted with the first Propositions concerning the Leavies of Moneys (which is the sinews as well of Peace as War) and the impeaching of those, who for their own ends, though countenanced by any surreptiously gotten Command of the King, have violated that Law, which he is bound (when he knows it) to protect, & to the protection of which they were bound to advise him, at least not to serve him in the Contrary. And the Lords being trusted with a Judicatory power, are an excellent Screen and Bank between the Prince and People, to assist each against any Incroachments of the other, and by just Judgements

to

to preserve that Law, which ought to be the Rule of every one of the three. For the better enabling them in this, beyond the Examples of any of Our Ancestors, We were willingly contented to oblige Our Self, both to call a Parliament every three yeers, and not to dissolve it in fiftie dayes, and for the present exigent, the better to raise Money, and avoide the pressure (no lesse grievous to Us then them) Our People must have suffered by a longer continuance of so vast a Charge as two great Armies, & for their greater certainty of having sufficient time to remedy the inconveniencies arisen during so long an absence of Parliaments, and for the punishment of the Causers and Ministers of them, We yeelded up Our Right of dissolving this Parliament, expecting an extraordinary moderation from it in gratitude for so unexampled a Grace, and little looking that any *Malignant Party* should have been encouraged or enabled to have perswaded them, first to countenance the Injustices & Indignities We have endured, and then by a new way of Satisfaction for what was taken from Us, to demand of Us at once to Confirm what was so taken, & to give up almost all the rest.

Since therefore the Power Legally placed in both Houses is more then sufficient to prevent and restrain the power of Tyranny, & without the power

which is now asked from Us We ſhall not be able to diſcharge that Truſt which is the end of Monarchy, ſince this would be a totall Subverſion of the Fundamentall Laws, and that excellent Conſtitution of this Kingdom, which hath made this Nation ſo many yeers both Famous & happy to a great degree of Envie; ſince to the power of Puniſhing (which is already in your hands according to Law) if the power of Preferring be added, We ſhall have nothing left for Us, but to look on; ſince the incroaching of one of theſe Eſtates upon the power of the other is unhappy in the effects both to them and all the reſt; ſince this power of at moſt a joynt Government in Us with Our Counſellors, (or rather Our Guardians) will return Us to the worſt kinde of Minority, and make Us deſpicable both at home and abroad, and beget eternall Factions and Diſſentions (as deſtructive to publike Happineſſe as War) both in the choſen, and the Houſes that chuſe them, and the people who chuſe the Chuſers; ſince ſo new a power will undoubtedly intoxicate perſons who were not born to it, & beget not onely Diviſions among them as equals, but in them contempt of Us as become an equall to them, and Inſolence & Injuſtice towards Our people, as now ſo much their inferiors, which will be the more grievous unto them,

them, as suffering from those who were so lately of a neerer degree to themselves, and being to have redresse onely from those that placed them, & fearing they may be inclined to preserve what they have made, both out of kindenesse and policie; since all great changes are extremly inconvenient, and almost infallibly beget yet greater Changes, which beget yet greater Inconveniencies.

Since as great an one in the Church must follow this of the Kingdom; Since the second Estate would in all probability follow the Fate of the first, and by some of the same turbulent spirits, Jealousies would be soon raised against them, and the like Propositions for reconciliation of Differences would be then sent to them, as they now have joyned to send to Us; till (all Power being vested in the House of Commons, and their number making them incapable of transacting Affaires of State with the necessary Secrecie and expedition those being retrusted to some close Committe) at last the Common people (who in the mean time must be flattered, and to whom Licence must be givē in all their wilde humours, how contrary soever to establisht Law, or their own reall Good) discover this *Arcanum Imperii*, That all this was done by them, but not for them, grow weary of Journey-work, and set up for themselves,

call Parity and Independence, Liberty; devoure that Eſtate which had devoured the reſt; Deſtroy all Rights and Proprieties, all diſtinctions of Families and Merit; And by this means this ſplendid and excellently diſtinguiſhed form of Government end in a dark equall *Chaos* of Confuſion, and the long Line of Our many noble Anceſtors in a *Jack Cade*, or a *Wat Tyler*.

For all theſe Reaſons to all theſe demands Our Anſwer is, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari*: But this We promiſe, that We will be as carefull of preſerving the Lawes in what is ſuppoſed to concerne wholly Our Subjects, as in what moſt concerns Our Self: For indeed We profeſſe to beleeve, that the preſervation of every Law concerns Us; thoſe of obedience being not ſecure, when thoſe of protection are violated; And We being moſt of any injured in the leaſt violation of that, by which Wee enjoy the higheſt Rights and greateſt Benefits, and are therefore obliged to defend no leſſe by our intereſt then by Our duty, and hope that no Jealouſies to the contrary ſhall be any longer nouriſhed in any of Our good People, by the ſubtill inſinuations, and ſecret practices of men, who for private ends are diſaffected to Our Honour and Safety, and the Peace & Proſperity of Our People. And to ſhew you, that no

juſt

juſt indignation at ſo reproachfull offers ſhall make Us refuſe to grant what is probable to conduce to the good of Our good People, becauſe of the ill company it comes in, We will ſearch carefully in this heap of unreaſonable Demands, for ſo much as We may (complying with Our Conſcience, and the duty of Our Truſt) aſſent unto, and ſhall accordingly agree to it.

In purſuance of which Search, in the 4th Propoſition, under a Demand which would take from Us that truſt which God, Nature, and the Laws of the Land have placed in Us, and of which none of you could endure to be deprived; We finde ſomething to which We give this Anſwer, That We have committed the principall places about Our Children to perſons of Quality, Integrity and Piety, with ſpeciall regard that their Tender yeers might be ſo ſeaſoned with the Principles of the true Proteſtant Religion, as (by the bleſsing of God upon this Our care) this whole Kingdom may in due time reap the fruit thereof: And as We have been likewiſe very carefull in the choice of Servants about them, that none of them may be ſuch, as by ill Principles, or by ill Examples to croſſe Our endeavours for their Pious and Vertuous Education, ſo if there ſhall be found (for all Our care to prevent it) any perſon about Our

Children

Children (or about Us, which is more then you ask) *against whom both Houſes* ſhall make appear to Us *any juſt exception*, We ſhall not onely *remove* them, but thank you for the Information; Onely We ſhall expect, that you ſhall be likewiſe carefull that there be no under-hand dealing by any to ſeek faults, to make room for others to ſucceed in their places.

For the 5th Demand, as We will not ſuffer any to ſhare with Us in Our power of Treaties, which are moſt improper for Parliaments, and leaſt in thoſe Treaties in which We are neerlyeſt concerned, not onely as a King but as a Father, yet We do (ſuch is Our deſire to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction) aſſure you by the word of a King, that We ſhall never propoſe or entertain any Treaty whatſoever for the marriage of any of Our Children, without due regard to the true Proteſtant Profeſſion, the good of Our Kingdomes, and the Honour of Our Family.

For the 6th Demand, concerning *the Laws in force againſt Jeſuits, Prieſts, and Popiſh Recuſants*, We have by many of Our Meſſages to you, by Our voluntary promiſe to you, ſo ſolemnly made never to pardon any Popiſh Prieſt, by Our ſtrict Proclamations lately publiſhed in this point, and by the publike Examples which We have made in that caſe ſince Our Reſidence at *York*, and before at *London* ſufficiently expreſſed

expreſſed Our zeal herein. Why do you then ask that, in which Our own Inclination hath prevented you? And if you can yet finde any more effectuall Courſe to diſable them from Diſturbing the State or eluding the Law by truſts or otherwiſe, We ſhall willingly give Our Conſent to it.

For the 7th, concerning *the Votes of Popiſh Lords*, We underſtand that they in diſcretion have withdrawn themſelves from the Service of the Houſe of Peers, (and had done ſo when uſe was publikely made of their names to aſperſe the Votes of that Houſe, which was then counted as Malignant as thoſe (who are called *Our Unknown and Unſworn Counſellors*) are now) neither doe Wee conceive that ſuch a Poſitive Law againſt the Votes of any whoſe blood gives them that right, is ſo proper in regard of the Priviledge of Parliament, but are content, that ſo long as they ſhall not be conformable to the Doctrine & Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, they ſhall not be admitted to ſit in the Houſe of Peers, but onely to give their Proxies to ſuch Proteſtant Lords as they ſhall chuſe, who are to diſpoſe of them as they themſelves ſhall think fit, without any Reference at all to the Giver.

As to the deſires for *a Bill for the Education of the Children of Papiſts by Proteſtants in the Proteſtant*

Profeßion, many about Us can witneſſe with Us, That We have often delivered Our Opinion, that ſuch a Courſe (with Gods bleſsing upon it) would be the moſt effectuall for the rooting out of Popery out of this Kingdom; We ſhall therefore thank you for it, and encourage you in it, and, when it comes unto Us, do Our Dutie; And We heartily wiſh, for the publike good, that the time you have ſpent in making Ordinances without Us, had been imployed in preparing this and other good Bills for Us.

For the 8th, touching *The Reformation to be made of the Church Government and Liturgie*, We had hoped, that what We had formerly declared concerning the ſame, had been ſo ſufficiently underſtood by you & all good Subjects, that We ſhould not need to have expreſſed Our Self further in it. We told you in Our Anſwers to your Petition preſented to Us at *Hampton-Court* the firſt of December, *That for any illegall Innovations which may have crept in, We ſhould willingly concur in the removall of them; That if Our Parliament ſhould adviſe Us to call a Nationall Synode, which may duely examine ſuch Ceremonies as give juſt cauſe of Offence to any, We ſhould take it into Conſideration, and apply Our Self to give due ſatisfaction therein; That We were perſwaded in Our Conſcience, that no Church could be found upon the Earth, that profeſſeth the true*

true Religion with more purity of Doctrine, then the Church of England *doth, nor where the Government and Diſcipline are joyntly more beautified, and free from Superſtition, then as they are here eſtabliſhed by Law;* which (by the grace of God) We will with Conſtancie maintain (while We live) in their Purity and Glory, not onely againſt all Invaſions of Popery, but alſo from the Irreverence of thoſe many Schiſmaticks and Separatiſts, wherewith of late this Kingdom and Our City of *London* abounds, to the great diſhonour and hazard both of Church and State; For the ſuppreſſion of whom We required your timely and active aſsiſtance. We told you in Our firſt Declaration, printed by the advice of Our Privie Councell, *That for differences amongſt our ſelves for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion, We ſhould in tenderneſſe to any number of Our loving Subjects very willingly comply with the advice of Our Parliament, that ſome Law might be made for the exemption of tender Conſciences from puniſhment or proſecution for ſuch Ceremonies, and in ſuch Caſes, which by the judgement of moſt men are held to be matters indifferent, and of ſome to be abſolutely unlawfull; Provided, that this eaſe ſhould be attempted and purſued with that modeſtie, temper, and ſubmiſſion, that in the meane time the Peace and quiet of the Kingdom be not diſturbed, the*

Decencie and Comelineſſe of Gods Service diſcountenanced, nor the Pious, Sober, Devout actions of thoſe Reverend Perſons who were the firſt Labourers in the bleſſed Reformation, or of that time, beſcandalled and defamed. And We heartily wiſh, that others whom it concerned, had been as ready (as their duty bound them, though they had not receivtd it from Us) to have purſued this Caution, as We were, and ſtill are willing and readie to make good every particular of that Promiſe. Nor did We onely appear willing to joyn in ſo good a Work, when it ſhould be brought Us, but preſt and urged you to it by Our Meſſage of the fourteenth of February in theſe words, *And becauſe His Majeſtie obſerves great and different troubles to ariſe in the hearts of His People, concerning the Government and Liturgie of the Church, His Majeſtie is willing to declare, That He will refer the whole conſideration to the wiſdom of His Parliament, which he deſires them to enter into ſpeedily, that the preſent diſtractions about the ſame may be compoſed: but deſires not to be preſſed to any ſingle Act on His part, till the whole be ſo digeſted and ſetled by both Houſes, that His Majeſtie may cleerly ſee what is fit to be left, as well as what is fit to be taken away:* Of which We the more hoped of a good ſucceſſe to the generall ſatisfaction of Our People, becauſe you ſeem in this Propoſition

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to desire but *a Reformation*, and not (as is daily preached for as necessary in those many Conventicles which have within these nineteen moneths begun to swarm, and which, though their Leaders differ from you in this opinion, yet appear to many as countenanced by you, by not being punished by you, (few else, by reason of the Order of the House of Commons of the 9th of September, daring to do it) a destruction of the present Discipline and Liturgie. And We shall most cheerfully *give Our best assistance for raising a sufficient maintenance for preaching Ministers*, in such course as shall be most for the encouragment and advancement of Piety and Learning.

For the Bills you mention, and the Consultation you intimate, knowing nothing of the particular matters of the one (though We like the Titles well) nor of the manner of the other, but from an Informer (to whom We give little credit, and We wish no man did more) Common fame, We can say nothing till We see them.

For the 11th, We would not have the *Oath of all Privy Counsellors and Judges* straitned to particular Statutes of one or two particular Parliaments, but extend to all Statutes of all Parliaments, and the whole Law of the Land, and shall willingly consent *that*

an enquirie of all the breaches and violations of the Law may be given in charge by the Justices of the Kings Bench every Terme, and by the Judges of Assize in their Circuits, and Justices of Peace at the Sessions to be presented and punished according to Law.

For the 17th, We shall ever be most ready, (and We are sorry it should be thought needfull to move Us to it) not only to joyn with any (particularly *with the States of the united Provinces*, of which We have given a late proof in the Match of our Daughter) *for the defence and maintenance of Protestant Religion, against all designes and attempts of the Pope & his adherents*, but singly (if need were) to oppose with Our life & fortune *all such Designes* in all other Nations, were they joyned: And that for Considerations of Conscience, far more then any temporall end *of obtaining accesse of strength & reputation*, or any naturall end *of restoring Our Royall Sister and her Princely Issue to their Dignities and Dominions*, though these be likewise much considered by Us.

For the 18th, It was not Our fault, that an Act was not passed *to cleer the Lord* Kymbolton, *and the five Members of the House of Commons*, but yours, who inserted such Clauses into both the Preamble and Act (perhaps perswaded to it by some who wish not that you should in any thing receive satisfaction

faction from Us) as by passing the Preamble We must have wounded Our Honour against Our Conscience, & by another Clause have admitted a Consequence, from which We could never have been secured, by declaring, *That no Member of either House, upon any Accusation of Treason, could have his Person seized without the Consent of that House, of which he is a Member*, though the known Law be, *That Priviledge of Parliament extends not to Treason*, and if it did, any Member (the House being for a short time adjourned, & so their Consent not being so had) how treasonable soever his Intentions were, how cleerly soever known, and how suddenly soever to be executed, must have fair leave given him to go on and pursue them, no way, how Legall soever, after the passing such a Clause, being left to prevent it.

To conclude, We Conjure you and all Men to rest satisfied with the Truth of Our Professions, and the Reality of Our Intentions; not to ask such things as deny themselves; That you Declare against Tumults, & punish the Authours; That you allow Us Our Propriety in Our Towns, Arms & Goods, and Our Share in the Legislative Power, which would be counted in Us, not onely breach of Priviledge, but Tyranny and Subversion of Parliaments to deny to you: And when you shall have given Us satisfacti-

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on upon those Persons who have taken away the One, and recalled those Declarations (particularly that of the 26th of *May*) and those in the point of the *Militia*, (Our just Rights, wherein We will no more part with then with Our Crown, lest We inable others by them to take that from Us) which would take away the other; and declined the beginnings of a War against Us, under pretence of Our Intention of making One against you: as We have never opposed the first part of the 13th Demand, so We shall be ready to concur with you in the latter.

And being then confident that the Credit of those Men, who desire a generall Combustion, will be so weakned with you, that they will not be able to do this Kingdom any more harm, We shall be willing to grant Our generall Pardon, with such Exceptions as shall be thought fit, and shall receive much more joy in the hope of a full and constant Happinesse of Our People in the True Religion, & under the Protection of the Law, by a blessed Union between Us and Our Parliament (so much desired by Us) then in any such increase of Our Own Revenue (how much soever beyond former Grants) as (when Our Subjects were wealthiest) Our Parliament could have setled upon Us.

FINIS.

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